DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 293 531 IR 013 064

AUTHOR Mativo, Kyalo
TITLE The Role of Communication in Alternative Development Strategies.
PUB DATE Jul 86
NOTE 34p.; Paper presented at the International Television Studies Conference (London, England, July 10-14, 1987).
PUB TYPE Information Analyses (070) -- Viewpoints (120) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Communication (Thought Transfer); Developed Nations; Developing Nations; *Diffusion (Communication); Economic Development; Folk Culture; Foreign Countries; Government Role; Information Dissemination; Information Networks; International Relations; *Mass Media; Models; Political Issues; *Rural Development; *Socioeconomic Influences; Telecommunications
IDENTIFIERS *Africa; *Development Communication

ABSTRACT

Based on an extensive review of the literature, this analysis of the special role of communications in relation to social development examines three major groups of writings: (1) those concerned with perceptions and definitions of early concepts of communication/communication theory and underdevelopment/development, which provide the basis for a critical analysis of the assumptions underlying the corresponding models of social development; (2) those concerned with factors leading to the recent attempt at alternative models of development; and (3) those concerned with the current search for new formulations of a communication theory. Arguments are advanced that communication and development theories share common concepts, and that ideas on development are transmitted through media designed to carry ideological concepts, i.e., communication technology is an ideological implement. It is also argued that culture constitutes the framework within which any concept of development must be viewed; perceptions of development and the attendant need for popular participation in development planning and decision-making are indigenous to each particular country; politics become the key to successful formulation and articulation of an alternative theory of communication appropriate to the development needs of the Third World; in their simplicity, traditional communication systems are the best suited media for the purpose; and, although there are obstacles militating against the development of traditional communication systems, these can be overcome through socio-political reorientation. (52 end notes) (CGD)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED293531

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy

Kyalo Kativo

THE ROLE OF COMMUNICATION IN ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

Paper presented to the 1986 International Television Conference.

IR013064

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Richard Paterson

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

THE ROLE OF COMMUNICATION IN ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

The economic value of mass media is now an established fact. The reason for this is simple: Mass media constitute the means by which economic ideas are propagated and justified. It is for the same reason that in the post independence period, Africa has become a test cite for a medley of theories of development following waves after waves of invasions by a countless number of western academic researchers. They come in all shapes and colours, brandishing ultra-modern information gathering gadgets. Their motives are not always known, neither have their harmful effects been properly assessed. Some of them are known to have abused every single privilege granted them by 'host' countries. One unamusing story tells of a foreign researcher who raided a whole national library emptying it of all the historical documents. The abuses notwithstanding, these alien intellectuals have amassed a solid wealth of information about African peoples, their customs, social systems, languages, history, geography, natural resources, etc.

The point cannot be exaggerated, therefore, that information possesses a definite material value, and the real beneficiaries of the material information gathered in Africa have not been Africans. And the question is irrelevant whether or not the information collectors are conscious of their role in the perpetuation of what has been described as a neo-colonial set-up in Africa.

This article examines the part played by communication as an economic factor. The analysis addresses three main issues. The first constitutes perceptions and definitions of the subject matter. In this connection, the early concepts of development provide the basis for a critical analysis of the assumptions underlying the corresponding models of social development. The second set of considerations relates to the factors leading to the recent attempt at alternative models of development. The task is to discover, within those models themselves, the theoretical concepts whose premises the reality of neo-colonialism has now proved false. The third main section of this analysis deals with the current search for new formulations of communication theory. Following the collapse of the Gross National Product (GNP) as the economic framework of earlier communication theories, new formulations of communication and development theories are now in the making. But contrary to earlier perceptions which tended to treat the two disciplines separately -

with an emphasis on the development theory -the trend now stands in the reverse order. Starting with communication theory, the aim is to arrive at an economic corollary.

We shall make the following points concerning the study of communication in relation to social development:

I. As an economic factor, communication is subject to manipulation to suit special interests.

2. Indiscriminate application of the so-called 'advanced' technology for the purposes of development in the Third World can result in, and has indeed produced the very opposite of that intention.

3. The ownership of the means of communication corresponds to the ownership of the means of production. Hence an independent communication system is a measure of political and economic independence.

4. Therefore, the current struggle by most developing countries for a new information and economic order is in effect a political struggle.

5. For the Third World in general and for Africa in particular, traditional forms of communication systems constitute the basis for the reformulation of an appropriate communication theory.

6. The rural African societies are endowed with systems of communication which can be put into good use to chart an indigenous path of social development.

7. The failure of the developmentalist strategies designed in the West for Africa could actually turn out to be a blessing in disguise. Pinned on the wall, the African people are now forced to explore alternative models, and in the process perhaps establish and consolidate an indigenous framework for social development. But that eventuality presupposes political resolutions, both at the local and international level. The new economic order becomes the bedrock for the effort.

We can now address the subject proper.

I

The Ghanaian philosopher Kwasi Wiredu defines communication as "the transference of thought-content from person or group of persons to another person or group of persons". And 'thought-content' itself is described as "a semantic unit which invites appraisal in terms of truth or falsity". [1] Language comes in here as the means by which this 'thought-content' is conveyed; and language is in turn mediated through words, gestures, artefacts, signs, sounds, etc. Wiredu takes the opportunity to disparage the concept of objective reality which defines communication in terms of the interpretation attached to 'thought-content'.

According to Wiredu, communication is a communal integer, so to speak, without which " no human society or community is possible". This community is composed of individuals or interacting persons, and an interaction of persons is only possible on the basis of shared meanings.

Wiredu's concept of communication is faulty. He sees 'truth' or falsity in absolute terms. He fails to account for the process by which 'truth' or 'falsity' are to be established, that is, interpretation. The framework within which an interpretation is carried out and the means by which meaning is to be sought constitute the social point of reference. It is in respect to this reference that a philosophical perception of communication has to be seen to follow one of the main philosophical traditions.

Apart from these misconceptios of philosophical perspectives it must be admitted that Wiredu's perception of communicatio as a process by which 'thought-content' is disseminated is quite correct, if by 'thought-content' he means information or message.

Another attempt at a definition of communication comes from D.B.Patel. Communication, according to Patel is simply " the transmission of messages" following a strict code of conduct constituting five basic elements: 1) the communicator, 2) the message, 3) the medium, 4) the audience/receiver and 5) the impact.[2] But Patel's 'definition' is only a variant of the so-called 'Gerbner model' which attempts to construct a comprehensive theory of communication involving studies of media, measuring the effect of messages, publicity, style and analyses of statements, among other considerations. Both in Patel's 'definition'and in the Gerbner model, the 'communicator', the'medium' and the 'audience' are not defined.

Hans-Peter Kraft offers yet another definition of communication: "Communication denotes the spatio-temporal (raumzeitlich) transmission of complexities of human knowledge in the form of information between different communication subjects",[3] whereby "communication subjects" designate the communicators and recipients. While distinguishing between information and communication, this definition shows the interdependence between the two:

> Information represents the object of communication processes: consequently the communication process rests on the existence of information. 4

By assigning separate but closely linked roles for the communicator, the statement, the medium and the recipient, this concept of communication presupposes a social structure based on socially defined activities. When this concept is then transferred to the wider context of Developed-underdeveloped socio-political relation, it becomes clear that information can be manufactured just like any other commodity and sold to willing (and unwilling) buyers. And since the industrialised countries possess the infrastructure for the manufacture of information, it stands to reason that they would endeavour to sell this commodity along with others to the non-industrialised countries. The roles are thus internationaly defined: the 'communicators' are the industrialised countries, while the underdeveloped world becomes the 'recipient'. We are now no longer concerned about the mere operations of the communication process, since these can be assumed in any communication system. Our attention is drawn to a complexity of issues emanating from the production and selling of commodities as an economic activity. That information is one of the products of that activity, is a function of the mechanism of the entire system. In this context it becomes necessary to define information in its own right. To this end, Kraft ventures to draw a scheme involving a three step-process, namely: Signal-News--Information, from which he abstracts this definition of information:

> By information we understand not only the formal signal, but also the news attached to the signal. 5

'Signal' here stands for the material means by which the information is disseminated, e.g., newspapers, radio, TV, satellites, etc.

What Kraft does not identify is the value content of information. By 'value content' is meant attitudes, views, emphases and other subjective elements whose validity is limited by the special interests of the 'communicator'.

The inadequacy of these definitions is of communication is obvious: the socio-political setting is lacking. But Melvin L. de Fleur and Sandra Ball-Rokeach[6] move in quickly to make amends. From now on the approach shall be one of extracting communication theories from definite ideological frameworks ('paradigms'). These 'paradigms' can be identified as I) Structural Functionalism, 2) Evolutionary perspective and 3) Social Conflict-model. The so-called "Symbolic interactionim"and "Psychological framework", which de Fleur and Ball-Rokeach also list as 'paradigms' can easily be treated as subcategories of the main three.

"Structural Functionalism", or the idea that the struture of the human society tends towards stability, in such a way that "if disharmony occurs, forces will arise to restore stability" [7] has communication playing the role of the 'peace-maker' between contenting forces. About the character of these forces, whence or how they arise, no clues are proffered in the 'paradigm'.

The "Evolutionary perspective" likens society to a biological organism.The implicit message is that 'social change' is a function of time consequential to interactions and specialisations of society's constituent parts. Social Darwinism is the best expression of this phenomenon. The role of communication in this set-up is to act the mid-wife for the safe delivery of every new social formation. But then, if the basic tenets of Social Darwinism are to be respected, 'social change' here coincides with the "survival of the fittest", and communication is thus incriminated in the matter.

But 'social change' can also occur from the "Social Conflict-model", according to de Fleur and Ball-Rokeach.The 'conflict' character of the model is traditionally blamed on Marx and Engels, but it is to their credit that de Fleur and Ball-Rokeach refuse to be confined to this worn-out cliché, extending the idea to give it its historical breadth. They give such thinkers as Plato, Hobbes and Hegel as important contributors to the idea of revolution,which many an incompetent writer overlooks. As de Fleur and Ball-Rokeach understand it, the main assumption in the model is that society consists of social classes whose interests are at variance with one another. The antagonistic character of these classes leads to irreconcilable differences, culminating in conflicts. The ensuing struggle ends in a new social formation. In the midst of these conflicts, communication is found actively taking sides, defending the interests of this or that social class.

Communication theory is thus born as the solution to the problem of the role of communication in society. But this 'solution' is only a 'trivial' one, in the mathematical sense of the word. For 'communication theory' itself needs characterisation.

For the purposes of this discussion, 'communication theory' is defined as a depiction of the manner in which a definite people or community produces and disseminates social ideas within a concrete socio-political set-up. The purely normative conceptual infusions which characterise most definitions are cosciously divorced from this definition. Here also the futility of striving for a universal theory of communication suggests itself. Even de Fleur and Ball-Rokeach, who necessarily take an American-Euro-centric view point admit as much:

> Even at the present time there is no body relatively consistent, agreed-upon and formalised assertions that can be truly called 'mass communication theory' ... In fact, it is even fair to say that there is no final agreement in this interdisciplinary area of study as to exactly what constitutes the subject matter of the field of 'Mass Communication'. 8

Normative and 'universal' conceptions have a positive part to play in the formulation of any theory; but that part is introduced in those formulations where the aims of the matter under consideration are also universal. Unfortunately that is not the case with communication and development theories.

Like communication, development has also its set of definitions. These are too many and well-known to reproduce here. Suffice it to give one which satisfies the needs of this analysis:

> Development is the process through which a society moves to acquire the capacity of enhancing the quality of life of its people, primarily through the solution of its problems. 9

The importance of this definition lies in its distinction between the acquisition of pure material wealth and the quality of life. It cannot be denied that material wealth is the basis on which the quality of life can be built. But economic development in one country or region can and <u>has</u> been achieved at the expense of another. In this case, development requires under-development . The problem can now take on its international dimension.

We are talking about an international economic order whose injustice is so blatant that only very few of its iron-hearted defenders have had the courage to stand up and be counted. The issue has indeed been sufficiently diagnosed and the necessity for change established.

We are now far ahead of Walt Rostow's theory of development with its linear five-point stages which were supposed to act as the conveyor belt for the Third World to 'catch up' with the industrialised countries. The misconceptions of that theory have been fully delineated, and we need not repeat them here; suffice it nevertheless to underline its most elementary omission.

Mohammed Bedjaoui correctly criticises Rostow for assuming economic and legal fairness between nations:

> Rostow, ignoring the phenomena of domination and imperialism, reduced underdevelopment to a mere question of backwardness which the countries concerned will inevitably make up through the working of laws of world economics. I0

Another critic, though sympathetic to Rostow, is forced to agree:

> There is every reason for scepticism here, inasmuch as the system that undergoes the successive stages ... is guided by the anticipated private profit and supplied with savings and investment through the profit achieved. II

The uniqueness of underdevelopment, as Bedjaoui rightly argues, is that it is happening for the first time in history. Because Rostow fails to understand the nature of underdevelopment, he gives the false impression that the industrialised countries once went through this stage of underdevelopment. The truth, though, is that, prior to the advent of colonialism as a world economic system, there was no precedent of a socio-political nature in which a small group of countries controlled the economic and political lives of a vast majority of others on an international scale. To put it mildly:

> Underdevelopment is really a sort of by-product of the development of the Western countries ..., the inevitable result of the development of the system of international economic relations. I2

One thing becomes quite obvious: given the present international economic order, underdevelopment is also given. And that indisposition reflects the inability of the developed countries to advance beyond the present stage of their development. Or, as one keen analyst observes:

> Underdevelopment is not merely the product of development, but also, its failure. Development is recent, separate in time and space. Underdevelopment is a product of history and not a natural stage in it - a different phenomenon through which the developed countries have not passed. I3

It is in this sense that the concept of economic development in terms of absolute economic growth, i.e. in per capita GNP increases, turns out to be incomplete. Absolute economic growth implies mass production for mass consumption. This is the practice in the capitalist countries.

Its successful operation relies on the employment of communication as what has now come to be known as economic information. The express purpose of this particular use of communication is to convey information intended to change the thinking and economic behaviour of the people. It is on this basis that indices of economic performance are constructed to measure economic growth rate, the share of capital investments in the national income, volume of energy consumption, employment, etc. But the social value of these indices depends on the concepts and notions of economic development assumed. An economic concept which defines itself in terms of the increment of 'goods' and 'services', for example, leaves a yawning gap between the mere availability of material economic products and their social accessibility. As one author candidly puts it:

> Measuring a flow of goods and services is an operation that has specific meaning only when such goods and services are related to the satisfaction of objectively defined human needs, that is to say which can be identified independntly of existing social inequalities. I5

II

At this juncture we want to look at the various uses of communication for social development. The definition of communication as a means by which information is transmitted from the communicator to the recipient implies that communication serves in such capacities as an educational tool, a medium for promoting culture, a means for dialogue between policy-makers and the people, a way of transmitting messages, a forum for discussing issues on policy and decision-making about development strategies, an instrument for the promotion of community participation, etc. The list can be extended to cover other functions such as 'socialisation', entertainment and so on. But these aspects of social activity are not ends in themselves, they are part and parcel of the whole process of social interaction, and to treat them as separate entities is to deprive them of their content.

We have noted above that the conscious use of communication as an economic catalyst is a particular undertaking of the advanced industrialised countries. There is another form of communication which does not lend itself easily to economic measurements, i.e. traditional communication systems. The term 'traditional' is used in contradistinction to 'modern' communication systems. The two systems are distinguishable by their

communication tools. The 'modern' sector represents the press - newspapers, journals, periodicals, etc -, radio and television, communication satellites, news agencies, film and video, and theatre. The 'traditional' system can boast of folk dances, songs, drum signals and the market place. In addition, such practices as 'witchcraft' and 'spirit possession' can be shown to function as special forms of communication.

It goes without saying that when 'modern' communications are indiscriminately applied in a country where the majority of the people use 'traditional' systems, or at least understand these better, a conflict of sorts develops between the 'moderners' and the 'traditionals'. Modern communication systems are, by virtue of their origin, commercial in character and represent the interests of their purveyors. In the Third World where the owners of the means of communication are invariably also the owners of industry, which is to say, largely foreigners, the ideas transmitted through these communication systems are based on non-indigenous social values. Representing, by belonging, the interests of the 'traditional society', traditional communication systems come into conflict with the needs of this interest group. This conflict materialises as a conflict of values, leading to a clash of definite material interests. The Iranian case during the Shah regime provides a classical example of this phenomenon. There, differences of perceptions of development and the attendant strategies for its realisation arose following the Shah's complete reliance on Western definitions and values. As a result a cultural cleavage between Western and traditional values manifested itself in the dramatic events which culminated in the overthrow of the monarchy. Majid Tehranian, the Iranian communications specialist files this report about the matter:

> While the monarchical regime defined these (development) goals primarily in terms of quantitative leap, in economic growth, the opposition led by radical members of the Islamic Ulama called for a return to the fundamental sources of Islamic/Iranian cultural identity - moral legitimacy, political liberty, and social justice. I6

Here, the conflict between the interests of the Shah and those of his supporters - as defined by Western mass media, on the one hand, and those of the people at large as expressed by traditional communication systems, on the other, created a communications irony:

for all their sophistication, the modern mass media became uncommunicative, while the'unsophisticated' traditional systems acquired an infinitely high communication content. Tehranian certifies:

> While the monarchy used mass media as its main channel of non-interactive communication, the Ulama used the traditional media of oral, face-to-face and interactive communication in the mosques, Hosseiniens and Rowseh-Khanes, etc. (Emphasis addedd) I7

This conflict represented fundamental differences in cultural and philosophical orientation, in which "politics of identity and legitimacy were thus superimposed upon interest and status politics". I8

The element of culture in communication is a constant thorn in the study of communication and development. In dealing with perceptions and perspectives of development, all roads lead to culture.

It is not easy to exaggerate the importance of culture in social progress. Amilcar Cabral, the prodigious African revolutionary has pronounced what could be considered the last word on culture in relation to development:

> Culture, like history, is necessarily an expanding and developing phenomenon.Even more important, we must bear in mind that the fundamental characteristics of culture is its close, dependent and reciprocal connexion with the economic and social reality of the environment, with the level of productive forces and the mode of production of the society which created it. I9

Take the case of the Inuit Indians in Canada. After watching Western programmes on TV, the Inuit adolescents started fighting and playing "tough" amongst themselves, a form of behaviour hitherto unknown to the Inuit community.As Yrjö observes, mindless violence and aggressive "toughness" are properties of Western societies. As for the Inuit and similar cultures, the only socially sanctioned "toughness" relates to human courage in the face of hostile environment. For example,

> In the Inuit culture, man has traditionally battled with the natural elements and not with his fellows; for those who meet the challenges of nature, interpersonal aggression appears wasteful and foolish. 20

These modifications of behaviour occasioned by modern communication facilities, can result in the disorientation of a people's culture and their social values, thereby depriving them of self-initiative.

This is not to deny the possibility of reciprocal enrichment of different cultures. After all, European development took place amongst

a myriad of different cultures, intermingling and modifying each other in the process. To this effect Dieter Senghaas writes:

> Europe's dynamic grew out of a multitude of small social forces competing against each other, long before a century later classical nation states and competitive capitalism emerged, finally subjugating the rest of the world. 21

Amir H. Jamal, the former Tanzanian minister for communication and transport agrees in principle that cultures can have positive influences on one another, but he underlines equality of opportunity as the precondition for the prospect:

> Let me stress again that historically cultures, given a degree of equality of opportunity, do make accommodation with one another, do enrich one another, and eventually even give rise to a composite fused culture arising from their interaction. It is only when the terms of exposure are so unequal, as indeed they are today in case of many Third World countries, that the situation becomes one of crisis. 22

Much of the justification for cultural domination of the Third World by Western social values is based on the hackneyed assertions about the 'superiority' of Western technology. It is said that in order to develop, the Third World needs to modernise, and 'modernisation' is synonymous with Western technology. Hoisting the banner of 'modernisation' some Western developmentalist writers, such as Wilbur Schramm, Daniel Lerner and W.W. Rostow once preached the gospel according to the Passing of Traditional Society, Stages of Economic Development and similar prophecies. The message was loud and clear; to wit, there was only one way to go: Westward. And sure enough, most Third World countries acquiesced. Yet, they needed only half as much as Macbeth's doubt to wonder: "And if we should fail?" As it turned out, they have indeed failed and are now being led "by the nose as asses are" along this primrose road to eternal capitalis bliss, to pharaphrase Shakespeare.

What is conveniently eschewed in the economic growth scenario is the specification of the exact purpose for which Western technology is to be used. We know that the so-called 'high technology' is based on capital and energy intensive economic concept. Except perhaps, for oil-producing countries, most of the underdeveloped countries do not possess the capital requisite for this sort of technology. We know also that what developing countries do possess in immense quantities is untapped human labour. To justify its validity, therefore, one would expect any technology claiming utility for the Third World to be able to absorb this labour power. But as things stand today, much of the technology imposed on developing countries is virtually irrelevant to their

development needs.

When "development" in the Third World is taken to mean westernisation of the Third World, the process creates, for its specific purposes, local elites whose political, cultural and social aspirations are modified to coincide with those of their Western mentors. Their habits, tastes, ideas, attitudes, life-style: in short their general conduct sets them apart from the people. This puts them clearly on another non-indigenous camp. For their cultural defence, on the other hand, the people turn to traditional archetypes, heroes and martyrs, pitting these against foreign intrusions. The Iranian lesson cited above seems to have been lost to most Third World countries, alas! The basic question about the nature and function of 'modern' technology seems to have escaped their attention into thin air. But the question may be difficult to ignore for long since this technology is designed to serve a definite form of development, i.e. the capitalist variety.

Unfortunately, contrary to unsubstantiated claims, capitalist development has not fared very well in the Third World. Problems of poverty, hunger, illiteracy, disease , coups, etc. are just a few social indices of capitalist failure in the Third World. The reasons for this failure are not difficult to find, and a significant number of Western development specialists, who cannot be accused of anti-capitalist sentiments, have admitted as much .

In the first place, the capitalist development is a historical phenomenon. Its birth took place under concrete historical conditions, conditions not only not obtaining in the Third World today, but also irretrievable. Europe was a battle field of small but more or less equal economic forces. E.J. Hobsbawm allocates the period between I848 - I875 to the reign of The Age of Capital but actually, by the author's own admission, the process of capitalisation of Europe had already started long before that. What is commonly known as the infrastructure for this form of development had already been put in place. Such was the case with the construction of the railway line, the development of the chemical industry - for the production of artificial dye-stuffs, the installation of telegraphy, the innovation of steel production, etc. In other words, the technological basis upon which the development of capitalism took place in Europe was a consequence of the economic reality of the European societies. This technology was at first a direct product of practical craftsmanship. Until the mid I9th century, most of

the technological innovations were made by people actually engaged in the production process, not laboratory researchers. Hobsbawm finds this point important enough to emphasize:

> The pioneers of the first industrial phase, Britain and Belgium, had not been among the most literate of peoples, and their systems of technological and higher education... were far from distinguished. 23

But then, once technology was introduced into the school carriculum, education became a strategic pilot project for national development:

> From now on it was to be almost impossible for a country lacking both mass education and adequate higher educational institutions to become a 'modern' economy. 24

As technology continued to expand to engulf the whole process of capitalist production, the search for new raw materials began, and with it the expansion of capitalism to countries outside Europe, culminating consequently into the age of imperialism. So was also born the Third World. Its role had already been cast and forecast as that of providing raw material needed to sustain this new economic system.

Secondly, where it has established itself as the dominant economic force in the Third World, capitalist development is a finished product. Further development can only occur along the lines already predicated by the particular requirements of the system, with the Third World squatting on the threshold as "periphery states". It is precisely this set-up, this tight economic framework which hinders any independent capital accumulation in the Third World. It is not true that developing countries do not produce capital: they would be of no use to capitalist countries if they did not. But they cannot accumulate and invest capital independently. Hartmut Elsenhaus explains why:

> The assumption that developing countries lack capital is historically refutable: investment facilities were not lacking, they were either squandered or invested abroad owing to lack of profitable prospects in the country in question. 25

The point is that the so-called 'primitive' accumulation cannot take place under the present world economic order for the same reason that capitalism itself cannot start anew in the Third World.

Today capitalism is not concerned with the provision of the necessities of life. Its aim is self-reproduction and expansion. And that means that nothing will be produced under this system

unless it can compete profitably in the capitalist world market.[26] There is simply no place for any such thing in the present international economic order. Otto Kreye announces this sad news with the frankness it merits:

> For non-monetary demand, for the needs of a part of the population in the developing countries which does not dispose of sufficient monetary income to acquire the minimum necessities of life, such goods and services are, in the capitalist sector of the present international economic system, not produced, and nothing of the sort is distributed apart from alms. 27

Thirdly, even if it were possible for the Third World to develop an independent capitalist system of their own, they would need markets for their products. The capitalist system can only survive under conditions of 'free' markets, but today virtually all the markets of capitalist products have been taken by the incumbent capitalist order. An independent Third World capitalism would have no chance of breaking into this fortified and heavily defended economic citadel. The impossible mission would require establishing economic beachheads to mount attacks on the existing system. It is superfluous to add that this prospect is unachievable under the present set of world economic relations.

III

Let us now examine how information comes into the picture as capital.

We have stated that the idea of establishing an independent capitalist system in the Third World turns out to be merely an extension of the capitalist system itself. This process is carried out through the use of information as an economic factor. In fact the term 'information capital' has been coined to refer to such technological implements as typewriters, calculators, computers, telephones, satellites and any other equipment connected with the dissemination of information. This capitalisation of information is a function of the capitalist system as a whole. In its full maturity, the system has now been divided into three main sectors. The first, the 'primary sector' covers agriculture, mining, forestry, fishery, transportation and energy sources. The 'secondary sector' includes industry, manufacturing, finance, insurance, real estate, construction, whole sale and retail

The third division called'the tertiary sector' comprises government services, i.e. health, education, entertainment and similar social services. Information capital belongs to the third category. Its activity, estimated to be as high as 70% of the total economic operations of the sector is described as follows:

> The information activity includes all the resources consumed in producing, processing and distributing information goods and services. 28

The process by which information has acquired its capacity as capital is historical. The importance of this metamorphosis of information into capital has been growing over time in direct proportion to the economic growth in the industrial countries. Thus Marc Porat reports that in 1976 information activity accounted for 46% of the GNP in USA. This resulted in a trend of information activity assuming a bigger and bigger role in the US economic development. How this came about Porat explains:

> Between 1860 and 1905 the agricultural workers dominated the work force followed by industry, services and information. Between 1905 and 1955, the industry sector took the lead. But by 1955, the information sector became predominant, rising from a low of 15% of the workforce in 1910 to over 40% in 1970. 29

It is obvious, therefore, that the capitalist economy has been moving from industrial to information economy, a phenomenon clearly reflected in the current 'technological revolution' in the computer systems. In the place of an amorphous 'industrail society, a distinct information variety has emerged. But the new scion has a qualitative blemish: it is non-productive. It specialises mainly in administration, entertainment, 'policing' the world, disseminating 'news', etc. It is not by chance then that the 'computer age' coincides with a high rate of unemployment in the capitalist countries. For in a society whose labour force is concentrated on the information services, the ratio of the productive to the non-productive workforce must stand in inverse proportion. This is because the operation of information equipment requires less human labour than, say, mining or the production of steel. To set an array of electronic operations in motion, for example, all that is needed in most cases, is the operational know-how, much of it as elementary as punching the correct buttons, and the amount of human labour required for the purpose is limited by the number of operations to be performed. The question already suggests itself:

in such a society,

> Who would feed, clothe, shelter the society and provide it with cars? Would such an overdeveloped tertiary society not have to turn to an 'underdeveloped' primary society elsewhere for the rudimentary essentials of its survival? 30

It is here in the domain of information economy that alternative ideas about the theory of communication have become necessary. The reasons for this are not difficult to find. Ironically, the present economic and information order itself provides most of these.

To start with, modern communication systems have had little or no impact on rural populations. This is the case, for instance, with the American Satellite Instrumental Television Experiment (SITE), which was installed in India in I972. Assessing the effect of this experiment on the Indian rural people, G.N.S. Raghavan notes that because it ignored the cultural values of the people, the experiment could not have had any social meaning for them:

> It is a truth apparent to common sense that decentralised and area-specific programmes, employing the local dialect and depicting the local agro-economic and human landscape, are necessary in any attempt to persuade people to change their attitudes and practices in agriculture or hygiene or, even more so, in family planning. 3I

Quoting a report by the Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO), Raghavan gives an example related to the use of language:

> Furthermore, the use of English-sounding technical names (in programmes on agriculture and animal husbandry) compounded the problem. 32

Another notable failure of 'high technology' communication system in India was the domestic satellite INSAT I-A . The experiment failed miserably and was abandoned altogether after only one month of existence.

Secondly: traditional communication systems, on which any new thinking on communication theory should be based, do not lend themselves easily to manipulation by external forces. This is because these forms are firmly grounded on cultural values which are not easy to dislodge. Furthermore, unlike the modern media, traditional systems are not exposed to external communication forces.

What has made the modern media systems in the Third World so impotent as a means of communication is their total dependence on foreign command centres. For example, even for local matters, the African press tends to rely on Western sources. Graham Mytton recalls a case in the Zambian press in which stories and abituaries on

Nkrumah were written by Europeans.[33] And when early this year (1986) Yoweri Museveni took power in Uganda, most people in Africa got their first glimpse of the man through the eyes of foreign news agencies.

The capacity of traditional communication systems to accommodate popular participation in development issues is the third factor rendering these media appropriate as alternative systems to the modern types. Now, the concept of popular participation in development strategies is an old idea. The UNESCO study on community media has dealt with the subject quite extensively and it is unnecessary to duplicate that effort here. But it is important to refer to that study for its concise formulation of the idea of popular participation. That concept is defined as follows:

> Participation implies involvement of the public in production and in the management of communication systems. 34

When we say that traditional forms of communication systems have the capacity to accommodate popular participation, we mean that these media possess certain characteristics which are already normal forms of social behaviour. Roland Colin gives the example of the special uses of the spoken word in traditional settings:

> One of the most outstanding distinctive elements of many traditional societies is the determinant place of the spoken word (l'oralité). 35

An example of especial use of language is the prominence of proverbs in conversations and speeches. One of the proverbs is reserved for the importance of language itself:

> Man (human being) possesses no tail; he has no mane.
> You can only seize him by the word of his mouth. 36

Colin refers to the use of proverbs in African languages as "social communication". This form of communication is also carried out through songs, legends and myths executed by traditional professionals. In West Africa, for example, griots have traditionally played the role of social communicators. True, they have also performed purely political roles as court jesters and personality cult instrumentalists. But, by virtue of their humble origins, who also possessed the power to make or unmake kings, the griots bridged the communication gap between the rich and the poor. They could, therefore, not afford to be mere mouthpieces of central authorities. Their role as social communicators was only then socially valid if the community at large gave it a hearing.

If the African griots of yore acted as what Americans would call 'checks and balances' of power, that is certainly not the case in most of the African countries today. In the rare cases where some forms of traditional communication systems are officially recognised and actually given a voice in the modern communication systems - in radio and TV, for example, as in the Ivory Coast, the aim remains to make them serve as menas of accumulating power and wealth for the political elites. This situation is not only deplorable, it is ironic, as Colin observes:

> Thus, what was at the beginning a guarantee in the dynamics of social communication against excessive accumulation of power and wealth, can become the instrument of this very same accumulation. At the same time modern institutions are tragically deprived of any forms of social communication allowing for the checks and balances of power and therefore genuine social participation in development. 37

Lastly, the indispensable role of indigenous culture in development has already been broached above. We need only emphasize its direct material bearing on the lives of the people. François Perroux makes revealing points in this connection:

a) " Economic phenomenon and institutions depend for their existence on cultural values.

b) "The attempt to separate collective economic objectives from their cultural environment has finally ended in failure, despite the most ingenoius intellectual intellectual acrobatics.

c) " Not a single basic economic concept can really be thought through if its cultural grounding is shaken."38

The inability of modern communication systems to have any effect on the rural communities, the ability of traditional communication systems to resist external manipulation, their capacity to accommodate popular participation in development activities and their function as permanent cultural barricades against the advance of Western economic ideas : these are only a few examples of the merits of traditional communication systems as alternative points of departure for the formulation of an appropriate communication theory. As indicated earlier, the main fault with the existing theories is their futile attempt at universality. The simple fact is this: the social set-up determines its communication theory. Even De Fleur and Ball-Rokeach do not disagree with that fact. They are indeed of the opinion that

> Media content must be compatible with the sociocultural

> context as a whole in order for it to be comprehensive and desirable to an audience large enough enough for the medium to achieve its economic goals. 39

Unfortunately, the reasons pertaining to underdevelopment and its concomitant political suppressive machinery, it is not easy to establish an alternative press along the lines of those existing in Europe. In Britain, for example, the Federation of Worker Writers and Community Publishers (FWWCP) has been instrumental in setting up publishing projects independent of the dominant commercial practice. But such ventures are branded 'radical', which in the Third World political parlance translates as 'subversive'. What makes the existence of these press alternatives possible in Europe is,first, the traditional belief in the 'freedom of the press',and secondly the validity of the socio-political establishment. But in the Third World 'freedom of the press' means the denial of it to the vast majority of the people. It means the protection of the local elites against the wrath of the people. It is 'freedom of the press' for the rich and the powerful. That is the point Graham Mytton misses in his analysis of the subject. (See footnote 33)

There are of course objective obstacles to the establishment of communication systems in the Third World. These have adequately been enumerated in the UNESCO study referred to above. Here we shall only mention those directly related to this analysis:

1) Lack of research to establish needs,
2) Lack of appropriate training at the University or college level for community media work,
3) Political uncertainties about the implications of communal activities necessitated by community media,
4) Inferiority-complex on the part of the educated elite who expect 'high standards' on par with commercial media,
5) Material poverty of the people; any activity which does not seem to lead to immediate material benefits tends to be ignored.

Yet all evidence points to the traditional systems of communication as the only viable way out of the quagmire in which most Third World countries are now stuck. Examples of their use are almost inexhaustible. Ironic as it may sound, traditional community media can act as a safety valve for the central power base. Following its exclusive reliance on 'modern' media, the Third World has been divided into two nations: the urban centres, controlled by educated elites, and the rural areas ,

or what one author has described as the 'uncaptured peasantry'. As noted above, central governments tend to use their media to cling on to political power . Even the so-called rural press comes under direct control of central authorities. The UNESCO study expresses the concern in the following words:

> What local and regional communication systems exist in the less developed world, they come under the spell of the national system which is dominated by commercial and often powerful international and domestic political interests. 40

This uneasy co-existence of two economically and culturally different sections of people in one and the same country could, and has in fact created explosive social tensions. With the traditional media systems playing the role of the intermediary between the central political powers and the rural communities, the danger can be avoided, especially if a form of dialogue between the two sections can be established.

But community media do not have to preclude all forms of modern communication systems . Specific and concrete uses of modern communication systems for rural community projects include the following examples:

I) The Zambian Housing project set up in 1974. Modern media systems used were videotapes, slides, films photographs and printed matter;

2) The 'Tanzania Year 16' pilot project -1971-73, aimed at assessing the effects of Ujamaa. For the purpose portable video was used to solicit feed-back from the people:

3) Two pilot projects in Kenya - between 1975-81 in which cassettes and tape recorders were used. The projects were concerned with a wide spectrum of problems, e.g., environmental education, agricultural and health issues.

But for traditional communication systems to function as solid alternative systems, a measure of autonomy becomes necessary. The 'folk media', to use another term for non-commercial media systems, can only function effectively on their own terms. Like the Africa guinea-fowl and the Chinese Giant Panda, these systems do not propagate themselves in the domestic confinement of modern systems.Under these conditions, they lose their cultural relevance through the use of non-indigenous languages; their power as media for spontaneous identification of the people with folk symbols suffers as well.Their acceptability by the people and their capacity as a means of creating self-awareness and confidence through self-expression are invalidated. Furthermore, with a commercial value attached, they become expensive to implement.

It is perhaps for this reason that Evelyn Voigt and Rajive Jain caution against allowing external forces to dictate the terms of service to community media :

> We believe that community media should lead to people's obtaining greater control over their lives. Media which create community dependence on external technical assistance or finance are counterproductive. 41

Voigt and Jain's point is quite valid and should be taken seriously. What may not be so productive is to reject completely any use of modern equipment in the traditional communication systems. A better attitude is to make room for the use of simple but dispensable modern tools while at the same time developing traditional communication equipment capable of independent existence. This would minimise the danger of external manipulation on account of dependence on non-traditional support systems.

The autonomy of traditional communication systems is important for another reason. The perceived need for modern equipment is the pretext for the whole gamut about 'technology transfer'. Western technology is dished out to Third World countries without regard to their real development needs. Sadly the danger of this technology has not yet been acknowledged in many developing countries, as Tehranian explains:

> This is the situation in many Third World Countries where communication needs for authentic self-development often run counter to the images and imageries of development imposed from foreign sources and through the mass media . 42

Addressing the same subject, another Third World writer makes a simmilar point: in her rebuttal of the idea of progress as formulated by western 'specialists' , Janis Mwosa stated in a paper on "The concept of management for development", that development should correspond to what "the people themselves have decided they want and not something that an outside interest-group has decided." Furthermore, she adds, such development must be "one that is congruent with our fundamental values and yet attainable and sustainable with our present and future resources.*(Emphasis added)

IV

The emphasis on the recourse to locally available resources as the basis of development efforts sets the tone for the theme of

---

See Kenya Times, March 18, 1985

self-reliance. On the subject yet another Third World writer agrees that development is essentially a local matter using mainly local material; even commucation systems should be local:

> It is indeed much easier and more realistic for the poor nations of the world to start right now using the only resources available to them to evolve their own unique and practical style of mass interpersonal communication. 43

But then self-reliance, when not narrowly conceived, extends beyond material considerations. It presupposes a set of alternative methods, ideas, formulations, policy decisions, etc. The variety of alternatives entails not just development strategies but also communication methods and concepts corresponding to new approaches to social progress. What Rajni Kothari, the Indian specialist on communication and development, calls 'Communication for Alternative Development', and Magaga Alot designates as 'Alternative Journalism' are examples of what is involved. But before we turn to that crucial issue, let us briefly revisit some conventional concepts of development.

The old adage, based on the so-called 'Diffusion Theory' rested on four basic assumptions; these are:

a) Ecocnomic development is achieved through industrialisation, measured by the degree of urbanisation and determined quantitatively by means of the Gross National Product (GNP).

b) The means by which development is attained is characterised by capital-intensive technology imported from industrial countries.

c) Ecocnomic planning is the exclusive business of private financial institutions, mainly banks, stock brokers and similar profit-making economic organisations.

d) Underdevelopment is to be perceived as an internally generated low economic activity; conversely there are no external causes to underdevelopment.

Consequently, the role of communication under these assumptions was seen as:

I) Facilitating the transfer of technology from development agencies to their clients in the Third World,

2) Propagating ideas of 'modernisation' which that technology was supposed to administer.

But as matters have turned out the 'Less Developed Countries' (LDC) have not reached the point of 'take-off', and the occasion is nowhere evident. Even Wilbur Schramm, one of the most ardent proponents of this scheme of economic development has been forced to

retreat and reflect:

> While the developing regions have not been growing poorer in absolute terms, they have been falling farther and farther behind the industrialised world. 44

And underdevelopment is not confined to those countries which do not dispose of natural wealth, i.e. oil, minerals, timber, arable land, etc.; no, the phenomenon pervades the totality of any and all those Third World countries which have adopted the capitalist system, or had it imposed on them.

It has now dawned on Western development theorists that economic development is not tantamount to social progress; hence Everett Kleinjans' definition of development as the process by which society acquires the capability to bring about and enhance the quality of life of its people. In other words, a distinction has had to be made between the mere production of material wealth and the quality of life, such as environmental protection, health care, healthy and edible food, the quality of education, and so on. For this reason, new thinking on development became inevitable, bringning with it the concept of 'New Alternatives', for which the following considerations have been taken into account:

1) equitable distribution of wealth,
2) the role of traditional social systems,
3) emphasis on human labour vis-à-vis labour-intensive technology,
4) self-reliance,
5) decentralisation of development planning
6) popular participation in decision-making
7) elimination of external causes of development.

The point has already been made: an alternative to a problem implies a new set of parameters. These involve new concepts and perceptions corresponding to specific interests. Thus the LDC would have to formulate a definition of development pertinent to their own needs, and this definition must necessarily differ in perception from that fostered by Western specialists.

We are now addressing the concept of 'appropriate models' of development. It should be noted from the outset that the basis of any 'appropriate model' is an act of political resolution. Information policy, for example, is by definition an political articulation of the role of communication in the economic life of a particular society.

Every country defines its information policy in terms of its socio-economic needs. For example, Marc Porat defines American information policy as follows:

> Information policy attends to the issues raised by the combined effects of information technologies ... on market and non-market events. 45

Which simply means that American information policy is based on technological change, on how this change affects the economic set-up of the country in general and what measures should be taken to regulate economic activities in the wake of of this change. The ideological content of this formulation is obvious; and it is to his credit that, unlike most American writers, that Porat allows for a different definition of information policy:

> We would err grievously to suggest that all information policy has technological roots,

adding further:

> In fact some of the most insightful debate about the future course of our society occurs at the ideological level. 46

He also accepts the fact of political decisions shaping information policy, whereby ideas decided upon and the course of action taken determine technological and economic issues.

There may not be a ready-made alternative theory of development, as Rajni Kothari argues, but the ideological dimension of information policy assigns politics the task of creating appropriate conditions under which such a theory can be formulated. It is true, moreover, in deference to Kothari's observation, that the political process does not take place in an atmosphere of rationality, that there are forces beyond the control of the Third World, which determine the course of events in the actual world. But, in order to assist the process of articulating alternative perceptions of development, the first step to take in that direction is the identification of the obstacles militating against the effort. Kothari himself mentions four of these:

i) the conflict over the control of natural resources

ii) the militarisation of the world

iii) the idea and practice of 'economic aid'

iv) the concept of human rights and the survival of cultures.

Kothari is of the opinion that the compartimentalisation of politics and economics is responsible for the failure of the solutions attempted on development problems:

> We cannot separate the dimensions of conflict over resources, the militarisation of the world, the global economic crisis, or human rights and the survival of cultures. We have to see them as interrelated. This has been another fault of development thinking; to see problems and solutions in unidimensioal terms. It is why the solutions have not worked. 47

If the separation of politics from economic issues is incompatible with the development goals of the Third World, this has been necessitated by divorcing popular participation of the process of development as a whole. This is a logical consequence from the concept of national development which relegates the majority of the people to secondary activities, leaving decision-making to a bureaucratic machinery which is not in touch with the real problems. An alternative approach must make popular participation indispensable and integral to the entire process of development. And this means that participation by the whole community must cover the analytical as well as the conceptual stages, not just the actual implementation of projects. This point deserves special emphasis for obvious reasons:

> ..nce development processes affect the life of the widest sections of the population, their participation in the elaboration or discussion of such aims seems expedient. To recruit their involvement, it is necessary to inform properly not only the experts but also wide segments of population of developing countries on development issues. 48

That is the first point to make about alternative approaches to development. The second this : the concept of development should not be confined to individual projects, e.g., agriculture, health, family planning, etc. The process has to encompass the totality of social transformation. It should be a process consciously designed for building a new society. This might mean formulations of development policies aimed at dispensing with foreign aid altogether. Indeed Kothari considers foreign aid an ineffective method of solving development problems:

> Personally I have very little faith in development cooperation, that is, basically, still aid from states to states. 49

This clears the way for self-reliance as the main alternative to foreign aid. It is interesting to note in this regard that the idea has been subjected to a lot of ridicule in reference to the Tanzanian Ujamaa. No argument is proffered here to suggest that the Tanzanian experiment

was a total success. What is clear, though, is that the piquancy with which Western analysts and their faithful African protégés have danced to the tune of the 'failure of Ujamaa betrays ideological hostility. But one development specialist refuses to join the condemnation camp. Andreas Fuglesang argues that Ujamaa was the correct development policy to adopt in search for an indigenous alternative. The so-called'failure' cannot be seen in isolation from other factors which were not always internal in origin. At any rate the final impact of Ujamaa on the Tanzanian development efforts may still be on its may. In the author's own words:

> Some people say that Ujamaa policy has failed. It is fairer to say that it has been prematurely tried. 50

V

Before we conclude this discussion, the special role of communication in development alternatives should be recapitulated. The biggest problem facing the Third World in general, and Africa in particular, is the biased and erroneous depiction of these countries by the Western media. This is to be expected since the Third World does not possess independent news agencies of its own, which is to say, information networks capable of independently collecting information, interpreting and disseminating it themselves. The Third World sees itself and the rest of the world through five big foreign eyes: Agence France-Presse (AFP)- France, Associated Press (AP) - USA, Reuters - UK, Tass - USSR and United Press International (UPI) USA. These international news agencies are supported by two types of satellite systems, supplying them with information along the East-West ideological schism. There is the American international satellite system, INTELSAT, which operates such information gathering facilities as ATS-I - the so-called Applications Technology Satellite, PEACESAT - intended for use by developing countries to facilitate ideas on development, and ATS-6, with which India has been experimenting its programmes on communication for national development. Then there is the INTERSPUTNIK satellite system set up in 1971 by the Soviet Union. There are also the so-called 'spinoff' communication technologies led by Japan, but the bulk of information is carried by the 'big five'.

Information gathering and supply is basic to social development. Africa is a classical victim of lack of indigenous information supply. The intergovermental conference on communication policies in

Africa, a UNESCO sponsored undertaking, produces this depressing picture: The circulation of newspapers per I,000 inhabitants in four different regions of the world were given in I980 as follows:

Africa	I4
Asia	64
Latin America and Caribbean	70
Industrialised countries	3I2

Source: Intergovernmental Conference on Communication policies in Africa - A working paper: UNESCO, I980. P. 3

It may take time before African countries, or the Third World for that matter, can develop their own modern communication systems. Meanwhile, as one African communication specialist argues, African countries cannot afford to sit and wait to produce advanced communication technologies. They can and should initiate alternative means of generating information for development. They can and should avail themselves of the existing traditional communication systems. Some of the uses into which traditional forms of communication can be put include transmission of cultural activities through folk tales, dramatic arts, visual or graphic arts, songs. proverbs, riddles, dances, music, games, etc. The training of youth for development purposes and encouragement of popular participation in development issues are activities within the competence of traditional forms of communication.

The use of traditional communication systems implies also development of appropriate technology. By all standards, this has to be simple vis-à-vis the heavy-duty type imported from abroad. As the working paper on communication policies in Africa correctly states:

" A simple technology which corresponds to needs, uses the most flexible methods and equipment can provide immediately the type of solution needed, is often a more viable investment for developing countries than advanced technology, whose cost may be exorbitant and which may turn out to be unsuitable for the aims it is supposed to serve." 5I

We have argued in this paper that communication and development theories share common concepts. Ideas on development are transmitted through media designed to carry definite ideological concepts, which makes communication technology an ideological implement. Therefore, no definition of communication, or development for that

matter, can be undertaken without regard to the ideological affinity of the'definer'. That is why Kwasi Wiredu's definition of communication as the'transfer'of'thought-content' is incomplete since it leaves out altogether the interpretive model adopted for the purpose.

It has also been the contention here that culture constitutes the framework within which any concept of development must be viewed. This view leads to the point about indigenous perceptions of development and the attendant need for popular participation in development planning and decision-making. All this brings in politics as the key to successful formulation and articulation of an alternative theory of communication appropriate the development needs of the Third World. In their simplicity, traditional communication systems are the best suited media for the purpose.

While acknowledging the very real obstacles militating against the development of traditional communicatioh systems, it is our belief that these can be overcome, precisely through socio-political reorientation. Expressing the need for this political act in connection with urban community media, Peter Kinyanjui also speaks for all traditional communication systems:

> By themselves, urban community media will do little to bring about development unless they are accompanied by practical changes in the social, economic, political and organizational structure, of each particular country. 52

FOOTNOTES

I. Kwasi Wiredu: "A philosophical perspective on the concept of human communication", in International Social Science Journal, vol. XXXII, No. 2; I980. P.I99 .

2. D.B. Patel: Mass Communication and Development in Africa", in Ali A. Mazrui and Hasu H. Patel, (eds.), Africa in World Affairs- The Next Thirty Years, New York, The Third World Press, Joseph Okpaku Publishing Company Inc.; I973. P. I9I.

3. Kraft, Hans-Peter: Information und Kommunikation im Rahmen staatlicher Wirtschaftspolitik, (Information and Communication in State Economic and political setting), Berlin, Nicolaische Verlagsbuchhandlung, I978. P. I3.

4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.

6. De Fleur, Melvin L., and Ball-Rokeach, Sandra: Theories of Mass Communication,4th Ed., New York, Lon.,Longman, I982.

7. Ibid. P. I6.

8. Ibid. P. I45.

9. Everett Kleinjans: foreword to Communication and Change: The Last Ten Years - And The Next, Wilbur Schramm and Daniel Lerner, (eds), Honolulu, The Unuversity Press of Hawaii, I976. P.ix."In this sense ," adds Kleinjans, "although they have been slow to recognize it, the United States and other affluent coontries are still underdeveloped in such areas as urban life, environmental protection, race relations, crime, and other social problems."

I0. Bedjaoui, Mohammed: Towards a new international economic order: Paris, New York, Lon., UNESCO, Holmes&Meier Publishers, I979, P.67.

II. Perroux, François: A new concept of development , Paris; Croom Helm/UNESCO, I983. P. 84.

I2. Bedjaoui: op.cit.P.67.

I3. Mahmoud Marchaha: "Contribution à la Notion de Droit International public du Développement" - thesis, University of Nice, I976. PP. 67-8. (Quoted by Mohammed Bedjaoui-Ibid).

I4. Kraft, Hans-Peter: op. cit. p. I3: "Every communication information is undertaken with the aim of changing and influenoing the conduct of the recipients of the information."

I5. Celso Furtado : " A global view of development process", in Different theories and practices of development, Paris, UNESCO, I982. P.79.

I6. Majid Tehranian: "The curse of modernity: the dialectics of modernisation and communication", in International Social Science Journal; vol. XXXII, No. 2. I980. PP. 254-255.

17. Ibid. P. 255.

18. Ibid.

19. Cabral, Amilcar: Unity and Struggle, (trans. from the Portuguese by Michael Wolfers) , New York, Lon. Monthly Review Press, 1979. P. 149.

20. Yrjö Littunen, et al. : "Cultural problems of direct satellite broadcasting", in International Social Science Journal, vol. XXXII, No. 2, 1980. P.292.

21. Dieter Senghaas: "Kultur und Entwicklung - Uberlegungen zur aktuellen Entwicklungspolitischen Diskussion", (Culture and Development - Reflections on the current Discussion on Development Policy) in Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch:1984/14, on the theme:"Kolonialismus und Kolonialreiche" (Colonialism and colonial regimes), part II.P.423.

22. Amir Jamal: " The cultural Dimensions of Development : National cultulral values versus Transnational Cultural Domination", in Development Dialogue, 1984: 1-2. P. 80.

23. Hobsbawm, E. J.: The Age of Capital, 1848-1975, New York, Charles Scribner's & sons; 1975. P. 42.

24. Ibid.

25. Hartmut Elsenhans:"Peripherer Staat und abhängige Entwicklung, " (Peripheral State and Dependent Development) in Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch , op.cit. P. 340.

26. Otto Kreye:"Neue Internationale Wirtschaftsordnung oder Rekolonialisierung der Entwicklungsländer?" (New International Ecocnomic Order or Recolonisation of the Developing countries?); Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch, op. cit.P. 327.

27. Ibid. PP. 327-28.

28. Porat, Marc Uri: Information Economy: Definition and Measurement, Washington, D.C., U.S. Department of Commerce, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977; P. 2.

29. Ibid.

30. T.W. Halina: "Communication and the Economy: A North American Perspective," in International Social Science Journal,vol. XXXII, No. 2; 1980. PP 264-5.

31. G.N.S. Raghavan: "Do mass media reach the masses? The Indian experience", in Media education, Zaghloul Morsy (ed), Paris, UNESCO, 1984 . P. 34 .

32. Ibid. P.343.

33. Mytton, Graham: Mass communication in Africa, Lon., Edward Arnold, 1983. P. 74. It is characteristic of non-African media specialists to miss or emphasise the wrong point about the role of mass media in Africa. Mytton does just that. In his 'case study ' of Tanzania,

for instance, the emphasis is on "press freedom", as it is understood and practised in Europe. The analysis of the events leading to the closure of Ulimwengu - one of the countries newspapers, leaves much to be desired about the author's ability to comprehend the socio-political factors at play in the new African states. But in reference to the character of 'African press' Mytton gets the point: it is Western influenced and controlled. Joseph KI-Zerbo, the noted African historian finds the phenomenon deplorable but blames African governments for it:

> African countries with a written press independent of government control are - particularly in terms of daily papers- a rarity nowadays ... Gradually, communication has become blocked, and public demand for information, thwarted by the monologue of state-monopolised radio, turns to alternative offerings from abroad.

Index on Censorship, vol. I5, No.2. Feb.I986. P. I6.

34. Media for people in Cities, a study of community media in the urban context, Peter M. Lewis (ed.), Unesco : COM. 84/WS-7. P. 2.

35. Roland Colin: "La communication sociale et la participation populaire au développement entre tradition et modernité", in Huỳnh Cao Trí, et al: Strategies du développement endogène, Paris, UNESCO, I984. P.III.

36. Ibid. P. II2.
37. Ibid. P. I22.

38. Perroux, François; op. cit.. P. I72.

39. De Fleur & Ball-Rokeach: op. cit.P.234.

40. Media for people in cities: op. cit.P. 8.

41. Ibid. P. II2.

42. Majid Tehranian: op. cit. P. 254.

43. Alot, Magaga: People and Communication in Kenya, Nairobi; Kenya Literature Bureau, I982. P. 2II.

44. Wilbur Schramm: " An overview of the past Decade", in Wilbur Schramm and Daniel Lerner (eds): Communication and Change; op. cit. P.2.

45. Porat, Marc Uri: op. cit. P. 207.

46. Ibid. P. 2I0.

47. Rajni Kothari:"Communications for Alternative Development: Towards a Paradigm", : Development Dialogue : op. cit. P. I9.

48. V.A. Vinogradov, etal: "Towards an International Information System", International Soc. Sc. Journal: vol. XXXIII, No. I., I98I. P. 2I.

49. Rajni Kothari: op. cit. P. I8.

50. Andrea Fuglesang: The Myth of People's Ignorance": Development Dialogue op. cit. P. 57.

51. Intergovernmental Conference on Communication Policies in Africa, (Yaoundé, 22-33, July, I980). P. 30.

52. Peter Kinyanjui on "Traditional media":op.cit.P.29.Unlike Voigt & Jain,

Kinyanjui perceives neither difficulty nor danger in bringing modern systems into operation along with the traditional modes:

> These traditional group modes of communication are perhaps the most realistic and effective means of communication in Africa. They would be even more so if they were to be combined with modern media in community based settings. P. I3.